

THE LIBERATOR

IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY
AT NO. 25, CORNHILL, BY
ISAAC KNAPP.

Wm Lloyd Garrison, Editor.

72 1/2 cents per annum, payable in advance—\$3.00 in
advance from the time of subscribing.
All letters and communications must be paid for by
the sender, in order to shield us from the fre-
quent importunities of unkind correspondents. Those
who desire to be taken from the Post Office by us,
must send us the postage.
An advertisement of one square, or of a space of
one line, will be inserted three times for
one dollar.

AGENTS.
MAINE.
S. S. Rogers, Boston. Nathan Winslow, Portland.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE.
S. S. Rogers, Plymouth. Willard Russell, Amherst.
VERMONT.
S. S. Rogers, Woodstock.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

ESCAPE FROM THE FOREIGN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE most important attempts ever made to jus-
tify the slave-trade and the foreign slave-trade, is
contained in the following extract of a letter from Dr.
Garrison, to the New-York Commercial Advertiser,
dated at New-York, August 8, 1838.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNION HERALD:

MY DEAR SIR:—You will be happy to hear, that
the two fugitive slaves, to whom, in the
brotherly love of your heart, you gave the use
of your horse, are still making undisturbed pro-
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republican slaves escape for the enjoyment of lib-
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seated in my wagon, before day-dawn, this morn-
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to Alabama. 'I cannot sleep,' said this poor
broken-hearted husband and father, 'I keep
thinking of my wife and children.' Williams
and Scott had been sold to another 'soul-
driver,' and they fled but the evening before the
morning, when they were to have commenced
their sad journey to the distant South. They
travelled at night only; were between two and
three months in reaching Binghamton; and, in
all that time, never spoke to a human being, with
the exception of the kind-hearted man, whom
they were so happy as to fall in with, a few
miles below Binghamton.

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read—though not within the last twelve years.
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fell on Scott's ears, until last evening. Yester-
day, for the first time, they ate with white per-
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They were both borne on Mr. Ferguson's plan-
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Scott accompanied his master's son William,
who is a drunken young lawyer, to Baltimore.
This was the extent of his travels, before he
broke from that great prison-house of American
slavery, of which the American church is com-
plicit. They think Baltimore is some fifty or sixty
miles from their plantation, and Norfolk con-
siderably farther. They had heard of all the
principal towns in that portion of the country;
but they knew very little of the distances or di-
rections of those towns from their plantation.
There is no large stream near it. 'Goose
Creek' runs through it, and is deep.

The fugitives exhibited their bare backs to
myself and a number of my neighbors. Wil-
liams' back is comparatively scarred. But, I
speak within bounds, when I say, that one third
to one half of the whole surface of the back and
shoulders of poor Scott consists of scars and
wounds resulting from innumerable lashes. His
natural complexion being yellow, and the callous
places being nearly black, his back and should-
ers remind you of a spotted animal.

The beloved Abolitionists of Binghamton, af-
ter having literally loaded down the poor slaves
with boots and shoes and hats and various gar-
ments, sent them in a wagon to Cortlandville.
Here, too, we have dear brethren, at whose
hands the fugitives received much kindness.
Mr. Peter Hitchcock, of that place, a true-heart-
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Cortlandville to these poor mangled and im-
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for all my pains in going to those villages to plead
the cause of the perishing slave.

The humane man, whom they saw a little be-
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them, that there are such beings in the world as
'Abolitionists.' Their amazement at the kind-
ness poured out upon them so hastily by these
'fanatical' beings is not strange, when we reflect,
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Your friend,
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AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

OF THE ADVENTURES AND SUFFERINGS OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

This is a narrative, full of thrilling interest, which
has been taken down from the lips of the fugitive (now
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dark, and thus avoided my pursuers. I soon
discovered two other men on the bank of the
creek, but a short distance from me. On hear-

for them, and fortunately for the cause of hu-
manity and religion; they have at length mis-
taken their man, in selecting for their purposes
Louis Sheridan.

We always thought the existence of the colo-
nization fever depended upon their seducing to
their cruel, utopian scheme, only the selfish,
the ignorant, and the vicious of our people.
As soon, see felt sure, as the society caught in
their snare a colored citizen of principle, of pen-
etration, and intelligence, their bubble would
explode. Such a man is Louis Sheridan.

The hypocrisy, the wickedness and tyranny
of the American colonizationists have never
been a sealed book to us—we have always been
able to penetrate and know these cruel apo-
logizers of slavery. And we always knew that
their wickedness would find them out—that a
righteous God would expose them. He has
now done it through the instrumentality of his
faithful servant, whom we all know, 'Louis
Sheridan.'

Let Judge Wilkinson's 'New Ship,' be im-
mediately fitted out and sent to the colony to
bring the poor sufferers home. We will give
100 dollars for that benevolent purpose—will
not 90 more give a like sum, and let \$10,000
immediately be raised?

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, Dec. 6, 1838.

REV. S. E. CORNISH.

My Dear Sir—You will doubtless have
learned, before this letter reaches you, that our
beloved fellow laborer, James G. Birney, is de-
tained at my house, in consequence of the in-
jury he suffered by being thrown from his car-
riage. His pains are diminishing, and his ap-
petite and spirits are good; but, I fear he will
long continue to feel the effects of the serious
accident which has befallen him.

It was but two or three days since, that Mr.
Birney and I were led by Louis Sheridan's
letter to converse with each other respecting
the probable desire of many of the wretched
colonists in Liberia to return to the land, from
which unrelenting prejudice and hatred of our
equal brother had so much to do in expelling
them. I suggested to him the propriety of af-
fording facilities for their return. The 'Colo-
red American,' which has just come to hand,
shows that your own thoughts are turned to the
same subject.

Your proposition is, that a vessel 'be im-
mediately fitted out and sent to the Colony to
bring the sufferers home.' With all deference
to your better judgment, allow me to suggest,
that no preparations should be made to the re-
turn of these 'sufferers,' until we have ascer-
tained that now we have for believing, that they,
or a part of them, wish to return to their
banishment. It is, indeed, highly probable,
that a large proportion of the inhabi-
tants of the colony would gladly avail themselves
of an opportunity to return to their native land.
But, it strikes me, that we ought, in the first
place, to send to Liberia an intelligent, trust-
worthy gentleman, whose duty it should be to
ascertain what persons, if any, are desirous,
and, at the same time, unable on account of
their deep poverty, to get back to the United
States. If such a gentleman can be found, he
will be at liberty, on the eve of his departure
for Liberia, provided he shall send me Mr. Ar-
thur Tappan's or Mr. Lewis Tappan's written
opinion in favor of his suitability for the un-
dertaking, to draw on me for (\$300) Three
Hundred Dollars to defray the expenses of his
voyage and examinations. I trust, that his re-
port would comprehend much interesting and
valuable information on a variety of subjects.

Should it turn out, as it probably will, that
not less than a fourth to a half of the colonists
are anxious to escape from their present mis-
erable circumstances, then several vessels should
be chartered, without delay, for the purpose of
bringing them to our shores, and to the enjoy-
ment of the kindness with which ten thousand
abolitionists would stand ready to greet them.
I am aware that several thousand dollars would
be required to accomplish such a labor of love;
but, as they, at whose hands the money would
be required, are abolitionists, or, in other words,
tried and devoted friends of their persecuted
and outraged colored brethren, we may be sure
that the money would not be wanting.

Your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

THE GAG RESOLUTIONS.

The resolutions offered in the House of Rep-
resentatives by Mr. Atherton, have passed, and
will govern the deliberations of that body dur-
ing the existence of the present Congress. A
portion of the Representatives from the North
have proved treacherous to their constituents,
treacherous to the principles of liberty. We
want words to express our indignation at such
servile, dough-faced submission to party in-
trigue.

A Representative from New England has
moved in the House of Representatives, a set
of resolutions effectually destroying the liberty
of speech and the right of petition, and palpa-
bly evading, if not violating the Constitution,
and Representatives from the land of the pilgrims
have voted for them. Shame on the traitors!
We say a violation of the Constitution, for the
right of petition is placed under the especial
protection of the Constitution, and if these res-
olutions do not completely nullify that right, then
there is no meaning in language.

But the matter of these resolutions is less ob-
jectionable than their manner; never before, in
the history of parliamentary intrigue or vio-
lence, was there such an instance of an obno-
xious and abominable measure being forced
through any deliberative assembly. It stands
alone in impudent atrocity. Mr. Atherton in-
troduced the resolutions, made a speech in favor
of them, and then himself moved the previous
question, which cut off all debate upon their
merits, and then a servile Van Buren majority
sustained the motion! Amongst that majority
were some from the land of the pilgrims—the
descendants of those who had left every thing
to enjoy the privileges here so grossly outraged.
It was perhaps well that the servile Represen-
tative from New Hampshire should wish to de-
prive his colleagues of an opportunity to reply
to his speech; he did not wish to tremble be-
neath the indignant eloquence of Adams, or to
quail under the withering sarcasm of Wise;—
for, to their honor be it spoken, the southern
members would not all unite in this unholy
compact.

If the southern Whigs are to be caught in
this trap,—and we will not yet believe that they
are,—if they will join to Van Burenism, because
Van Burenism will join in putting down the
liberty of speech and the right of petition, be
it so; we are prepared for it. If they are de-
termined to draw the lines of party by geo-
graphical divisions, be it so; our duty lies clear
before us, and we shall enter upon the contest
with 'sad but determined resolution.'—Provi-
dence Journal.

'Thus is the gag once more applied, but in a
far more heartless and tyrannical mode than
has ever yet been exhibited. And thus has the
seed been sown for another and larger crop
of abolitionism. How long will the country look
tame upon these audacious attacks upon the
freedom of debate: how long shall members of
Congress be thus dragged into subjection at the
drum-stick of the previous question? And
who is the tool, the instrument, the cat's paw
for all this? representative from New-Eng-
land—a representative from New-Hampshire,
the Free States manly bowing down, with a
dastardly servility, at the feet of Southern dic-
tators! Such an instance of gross pusillanimity

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Let Judge Wilkinson's 'New Ship,' be im-
mediately fitted out and sent to the colony to
bring the poor sufferers home. We will give
100 dollars for that benevolent purpose—will
not 90 more give a like sum, and let \$10,000
immediately be raised?

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, Dec. 6, 1838.

REV. S. E. CORNISH.

My Dear Sir—You will doubtless have
learned, before this letter reaches you, that our
beloved fellow laborer, James G. Birney, is de-
tained at my house, in consequence of the in-
jury he suffered by being thrown from his car-
riage. His pains are diminishing, and his ap-
petite and spirits are good; but, I fear he will
long continue to feel the effects of the serious
accident which has befallen him.

It was but two or three days since, that Mr.
Birney and I were led by Louis Sheridan's
letter to converse with each other respecting
the probable desire of many of the wretched
colonists in Liberia to return to the land, from
which unrelenting prejudice and hatred of our
equal brother had so much to do in expelling
them. I suggested to him the propriety of af-
fording facilities for their return. The 'Colo-
red American,' which has just come to hand,
shows that your own thoughts are turned to the
same subject.

Your proposition is, that a vessel 'be im-
mediately fitted out and sent to the Colony to
bring the sufferers home.' With all deference
to your better judgment, allow me to suggest,
that no preparations should be made to the re-
turn of these 'sufferers,' until we have ascer-
tained that now we have for believing, that they,
or a part of them, wish to return to their
banishment. It is, indeed, highly probable,
that a large proportion of the inhabi-
tants of the colony would gladly avail themselves
of an opportunity to return to their native land.
But, it strikes me, that we ought, in the first
place, to send to Liberia an intelligent, trust-
worthy gentleman, whose duty it should be to
ascertain what persons, if any, are desirous,
and, at the same time, unable on account of
their deep poverty, to get back to the United
States. If such a gentleman can be found, he
will be at liberty, on the eve of his departure
for Liberia, provided he shall send me Mr. Ar-
thur Tappan's or Mr. Lewis Tappan's written
opinion in favor of his suitability for the un-
dertaking, to draw on me for (\$300) Three
Hundred Dollars to defray the expenses of his
voyage and examinations. I trust, that his re-
port would comprehend much interesting and
valuable information on a variety of subjects.

Should it turn out, as it probably will, that
not less than a fourth to a half of the colonists
are anxious to escape from their present mis-
erable circumstances, then several vessels should
be chartered, without delay, for the purpose of
bringing them to our shores, and to the enjoy-
ment of the kindness with which ten thousand
abolitionists would stand ready to greet them.
I am aware that several thousand dollars would
be required to accomplish such a labor of love;
but, as they, at whose hands the money would
be required, are abolitionists, or, in other words,
tried and devoted friends of their persecuted
and outraged colored brethren, we may be sure
that the money would not be wanting.

Your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

THE GAG RESOLUTIONS.

and servility was never before exhibited. And *Atterton* has arrived at the bad eminence of being the most cringing of the servile. After he had finished his speech, *Campbell* of South Carolina and some other Southern members advanced to his seat to shake hands with him, and to congratulate him upon his obsequiousness. His speech was a very tame and wordy affair; just such an one as you might expect from one, who had given up all of the man within him, if indeed any there were. The private history of this business may be worth relating hereafter. It is a cross of nullification upon Van Burenism. The White House is well understood to be in it. The Northern President with southern principles turns a last lingering look to the South for support; and the Northern sports and dallies with him.

What an exhibition for a deliberative assembly, calling itself the freest in the world! A member rises and offers a series of most important resolutions, embodying a variety of abstract propositions; delivers a speech in support of them—moves the previous question; the House sustains it—and thus all reply, argument, and deliberation are instantly cut off, and no alternative left but to toe the mark and vote. If there be any despotism in the world like that of an unscrupulous, toe-the-mark party under our free sun, I should like to know where it is.—*Washington cor. of the Boston Courier.*

THE HARRISBURG MOB CRACY. We cannot say that we regret the extraordinary proceedings at Harrisburg; not that we could wish to see the mob usurp the business of legislation, and take the government into their own polluted and idiotic hands—but we are satisfied that the disorganizing spirit which has manifested itself in various parts of the country, for the past few years, must come to a head, and it is better to have it come in a shape that will arouse the bone and sinew of the country to the necessity of sustaining the constitution and laws. Less than a year ago, the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia looked calmly on the burning of Pennsylvania Hall—a hall dedicated to freedom—and made no effort to stay the progress of destruction, but rather encouraged the mob in their unwholesome work. Did they expect that the disorganizing and ruthless appetite they thus pampered would be sated with a single sacrifice? Did they think that mobocracy, once fairly in the ascendant, would be content with aiming a single blow at the substantial liberties of the country? If so, they knew nothing of the spirit of it and destructiveness of the rabble; they knew not enough of the inevitable course of human events to foresee that those who sowed the wind must reap the whirlwind. If the desecration of the legislative hall of the 'Keystone State,' mortifying as it is to our national pride, shall have the effect to arouse what little is left of true patriotism to a sense of the real situation of the country under the strides of mobocratic power; and to send home to the heart of community the necessity of maintaining the laws at all hazards; the effect will indeed repay the sacrifice. We shall watch the course of events with much interest, knowing as we do that mobs are dangerous experiments, and that it requires not only strong republican virtue, but deep political intelligence, to overcome their baneful effects, and turn them to the account of national improvement and prosperity.—*Boston Times.*

CONGRESS.

THURSDAY, Dec. 20.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Adams presented an abolition petition, which was laid on the table under the rules.

He presented also several private petitions. Mr. Adams had before him a large bundle of memorials, which he proceeded to present, one by one. One of these petitions praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, from citizens of New Hampshire. The petitioners, in this case, ask leave to be heard by counsel before the House.

The Speaker stated that the petition would go to the table under the rule.

Mr. Adams appealed from this decision.

The Speaker stated the question.

Mr. Adams said he offered it because it was clear to his mind, that the petitioners had a right to be heard. They had a right to ask to be heard; this was a separate and distinct portion of the petition, and if that part relating to slavery went to the table, the other did not.

Mr. Mercer maintained, that, as the memorial was on the table, the subject could not be debated.

Mr. Adams asked the yeas and nays on the appeal.

Mr. Garland, of Va. said the question was, whether the petition could be heard at the bar of the House, in favor of the abolition of slavery.

The decision of the Chair was confirmed by the House. The House was engaged the whole day in receiving petitions.

MONDAY, Dec. 17.

Messrs. Grennell and Reed, of Massachusetts, having presented memorials, praying for the establishment of the usual international relations with the republic of Hayti, Mr. Wise of Va. objected to their reception! He regarded it as neither more nor less than wholesale amalgamation. The petitioners ask that a white republic should amalgamate with a black.

Mr. Adams rose to debate the question of reception. After some preliminary remarks on the sacred right of petition, he proceeded—

'I say to my friend from Virginia, that if he has no other reason against the reception of this memorial than that it proposes amalgamation, I hope the House will say, that that is no reason at all, even if the fact were so. Why, sir, amalgamation? Is there not enough of amalgamation in his own State? Let him go and look at the color of a part of the people of Virginia, and, indeed, of all the southern States, and then come here, if he can, and object to amalgamation! Sir, there is one kind which is sanctioned by the law, by which the black and the white may be united in holy matrimony, (as is well understood,) I believe, in both Houses at this time;—and there is another, which is not sanctioned by the law. And it would be an inquiry worthy of the philosophic spirit of this House, what portion of that amalgamation which is so common in Virginia, and the southern States, is licensed by law, and what portion is unlicensed.'

Here the Chair called Mr. Adams to order as departing from the subject of debate.

Mr. Adams. The gentleman said this amounted to amalgamation. I am answering that objection; and I say, that if it did amount to amalgamation, that is no reason why we should refuse to receive the petition.

But what does the gentleman mean by saying that to establish a national intercourse between two civilized nations, such as the Republic of the United States, and the Republic of Hayti, amounts to amalgamation? How much intercourse is there even here, in this country, with the black sovereign and independent Government of Africa? How many states are every year imported, directly or indirectly? Whenever these are brought away, there is a commercial intercourse with the sovereign States of Africa, where slavery is established by law, and the sale of slaves is a lawful act; and where you have no right to go to inquire whether the act is legal or not. It is indeed true, that you have constituted the purchase of slaves piracy, though you have denied that Congress has a right to prohibit the very same traffic between

this District of Columbia, and other parts of the Union.

The Chair again called Mr. Adams to order. The question was on receiving a memorial, and those remarks were very wide from that subject.

Mr. Adams. Well, sir; all the argument which the gentleman from Virginia brought against the reception of this memorial was, that commercial intercourse with Hayti would amount to amalgamation. I am answering that objection; and first, that if it did, that is no good reason against receiving the petition; and I say, second, that it does not. While you have an actual commercial intercourse with the States of Africa, where slaves may be openly bought and sold, have you no power to establish national commercial relations with the Republic of Hayti, where they may not be? Does the gentleman wish us to say, we will have no intercourse with a free republic of blacks, but we will have intercourse with black States, where slavery is permitted? Commercial intercourse with a land of slavery, is right and proper, but with a land of freemen? No, no; it amounts to amalgamation.

I have further reason why this memorial should be received. I have among various petitions committed to my charge to present this House, from my own State and others, one from the gentleman's own State of Virginia, God bless her! with the same demand, viz. that the Republic of Hayti should be acknowledged by our government, and that a profitable commercial intercourse should be established between the two countries. It is a duty I owe to the memorialists, to demand that the House receive their memorial.

There is another reason: I state it as a fact, that for a number of years, you have had citizens preferring large claims for indemnification for spoliation by the former government of Hayti, when it was a monarchy under Christophe, the late king or emperor. That sovereign had all the propensities of monarchical governments; he made free with vessels and cargoes of our citizens; he seized and confiscated them without remorse. The persons thus despoiled, appealed to the government of the United States for its interposition, to enable them to recover their property; and an informal agent was sent out to Christophe to demand reparation. The emperor was an aristocratic sort of man, and he answered that some sort of ours, in the district of one of my friends behind me, had seized some property of his, and that he had taken American property only in the way of retaliation; and when the United States should restore to him what these courts in Maryland had taken away, he would restore our property.

Now, it so happened that the persons who had seized the property of Christophe, were not the same whose property he seized and confiscated. These latter were innocent merchants, who were trading in the ports of his country, and whose ships he seized in those ports. These claims have been outstanding now for twenty years; and the claimants have as good a claim, as any that comes before this House.

They have been petitioning the Executive to obtain the restoration of their property, but in vain. And what is the reason? Christophe was deposed, and afterward, I believe, committed suicide. The Government became a republic; and to that republic we sent one or more agents from the Government of the United States, who renewed its claim on the Government of Hayti, as the successor of Christophe.

What has been the answer received? I can speak with certainty as to what it has been; what it may be now, I know not; but I hope the House will allow an inquiry; I presume it is a continual claim. It is in the knowledge of the Executive, and can as easily be obtained, as the answer to the inquiry proposed this morning by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Fry.)

Some years since, an informal agent was sent to the President of the new republic, President Boyer, with the demand for indemnification. He was met at the threshold, and was asked for his regular commission from the Government of the United States to the Government of Hayti. He had none to show; and why not? Because the United States did not recognize the Government of Hayti as that of a free and independent State. At that time there might be some reason for our refusal to do so, because the French Government had pretensions to the possession of the island, and considered its inhabitants as rebels. They, however, claimed to be the sovereigns; and it was deemed that the recognition of their government could not have been made without incurring the danger of a quarrel with France.

Since then, France herself has recognized her independence. So has Great Britain; and among the states of the civilized world, we, I believe, stand alone in refusing to do so. The agent, when he presented the demand, was told, very politely, by an able and learned Secretary of State, that he could enter on no discussion about any claims of citizens of the United States until his government was recognized; but with his assurance, that, if that was done, all attention should be given to our claims. That was the state of things years ago. Since, I believe, the claim has been presented; and I have seen from the papers, that some one has been sent there to perform the functions of a consul. How it has been possible to appoint a consul to a government, and yet not to acknowledge that government, I suppose the Executive can tell, if the House will inquire. But, so it is; a person has been sent to Hayti as a consul, though he had not even a letter to the Haytian Secretary of State. And I have seen it stated, that, in the intercourse between him and that officer, it was intimated, as a sort of compromise, that if the American Secretary of State would give him a letter to the Haytian Secretary of State, addressed to him officially, under his title as such, all attention should be given to our representations and claims; and not only so, but that a very heavy duty, now imposed on articles coming from the United States, should be removed. Here, then, is the direct and important interest of the commercial community, totally barred by your refusal to do what all the rest of the world has done, and what you are bound to do by the law of nations. The existence of a government does not depend on the color of the skin, but on the fact that it is independent, and within the pale of civilized nations. If it is, it has a right to demand recognition by all other governments. That is all that Hayti asks. If you grant it, there is every reason to believe that an important commercial intercourse will be established, and that your claims will be indemnified, without coming to this government, as, if refused by Hayti, they will have an unquestionable right to do.

Mr. Speaker, I hope and trust the memorial will be received. This is not the only one which contains this request. I am told there are many such. There will be more of them before you. I hope the House will put an end to the everlasting agitation which gentlemen say must arise on all questions of this sort, by the recognition of Hayti. Why should you refuse? You cannot put Hayti down. You cannot prevent her from being an independent republic. The consequence will be, that you will stand in the community of nations alone, with a sullen, sulky refusal to acknowledge a republic as free and independent as yourselves. For what reason? Will the recognition do any harm? Do you not see that in the other islands there is a question as important—that of universal emancipation—and that it is proclaimed close at your doors? Can you prevent that? There they are, with all their slaves emancipated. In three or four years more, the

same state of things will prevail throughout the whole Archipelago. Yes; including the islands of both Spain and France. All this is at hand; it is coming upon you, I am not sure. As a friend of mine once said, behind me, (Mr. Campbell,) it will come. You might as well hope to stop the cataract of Niagara; it will be; and you will be forced to recognize it.

And here I will reply to the remarks of the honorable chairman of the committee on foreign affairs, (Mr. Howard.) It is true he came to the same conclusion, but I cannot concur in his reasons for it. He told the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Wise], that he need be under no apprehensions in sending this memorial to that committee, for it would remain buried, among its files, and never be heard of again. Now, I hope it will be referred to that committee, and that they will recommend that its prayer be granted. It is important to the interests of the country. When it is received, I do not know but I should, indeed, prefer that it be referred to a select committee on foreign affairs, because the chairman has said that now, as on former occasions, it will never be looked into. I hope, if it goes there, that it will be considered; and I here challenge the honorable chairman to make a report against the petition. I call on him to give reasons why its prayer ought not to be granted, and not to treat it with silent contempt. It is not the question of abolition. It has no more to do with abolition than the North-eastern boundary question has. It is a question of the recognition of a sovereign, independent republic, which has for years been known as such to all the world. Your refusal will not deprive her of that independence, and can only injure your own citizens.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN MAINE AND GEORGIA.

A controversy between these two States has been going on for some time past, growing out of the alleged abduction of slaves.—The case is thus stated by Gov. Gilmer, in his late Message to the Georgia Legislature:

'A true bill of indictment was found at the last January term of the Superior Court at Chatham County, against Philbrick and Kellerman, for the same offence with which they have been charged, when demanded as fugitives from the justice of this State, by my predecessor. The demand for their arrest and delivery up to the Agent of this State, as fugitives from its justice, was renewed upon the Governor of the State of Maine, and by him again refused.—Copies of the report and resolutions adopted by your body at your last session, upon this subject, were in consequence of this conduct of the Governor of Maine, and in compliance with your request, transmitted to the Governor to be laid before the Legislature of that State, and to the members of Congress, from this State; to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and one to the President of the United States.

As the Legislature of Maine does not meet until January, 1839, its proceedings in answer to your resolutions, cannot be reported to you during your present session. There can be but little doubt, however, that those proceedings, when they do take place, will sustain the course which has been pursued by the Executive authority of that State. On the 20th of March last, the Legislature of Maine passed a law upon the subject of fugitives from the justice of other States, by which it authorizes the Governor to satisfy himself by investigation into the grounds of a demand, and whether it ought to be complied with. The Legislature of Maine, in passing a law to direct the Executive of the State, in a matter which is determined by the Constitution and laws of the United States; and the Governor, in justifying himself under such a law, in refusing to do what is made imperative by the Constitution, have evidently acted in disobedience to the state of public opinion in Maine, arising out of the opposition to the institution of slavery in this State. Had the persons who have been demanded of the State of Maine, by this State, been charged with any other crime than stealing a negro slave, there can be no doubt but that they would have been delivered up without difficulty.

If the people of Maine will thus prevent their authorities from delivering up to the authorities of Georgia, for trial, those who once away from citizens of Georgia, their slaves, and escape from punishment into the State of Maine, the people of this State must take means to secure their rights of property from the danger to which it will be thus exposed. The State of Georgia has the power to protect its own institutions, and it will be its duty to exert it, if necessity should require.

The subject, it appears, has attracted attention in the Legislature of South Carolina. The following resolutions were presented in the Senate of that State a few days since, by the Hon. James S. Rheht of Charleston:

Whereas, certain citizens of the state of Maine, have been charged in the state of Georgia, with a felony, committed there, by kidnapping and carrying away certain slaves, the property of the citizens thereof; and bills of indictment have been duly found in Georgia against the said persons, who are understood to be now resident in and under the protection of the state of Maine;

And whereas, the Governor of the state of Georgia, has by direction of the Legislature thereof, and in conformity to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, demanded of the Governor of Maine, these delinquents for trial, under the said bills of indictment;

And whereas, the said Governor of the state of Maine, instead of complying with this demand, as under the provisions of our national compact, he was in duty bound, has refused so to do, stating that he must first by the subject before the Legislature of his state;

Resolved, That the present respect of the slave question, in the United States, it no longer becomes a shoddy state to withhold the decided expression of its sentiments, on any subject involving those momentous rights; therefore,

Resolved, That the state of Georgia, in making the demand for the delivery of these delinquents, for trial, demanded nothing but what the strictest regard for justice, order, respect for herself, and the most sacred provisions of our national compact, authorized and required.

Resolved, That it is with the deepest concern, we perceive one of the Chief Magistrates of our confederated states, refusing prompt acquiescence to this just and rightful demand.

Resolved, That a failure on the part of the state of Maine, to fulfil her constitutional obligations, in this particular, will be a fatal blow to the security of our institutions and property, and if persisted in, will create great and well founded alarm in the slaveholding states.

Resolved, That the cause of Georgia is the cause of the whole South, and we will make common cause with her in all proper measures for procuring a redress of these grievances, and for the maintenance of her sacred rights.

NEGRO INSURRECTION. The Franklin Record received last night, contains a long account of a concerted plot, entered into by a large number of negroes of Williamson and Rutherford counties, to murder all the whites they could on a certain day, and take possession of the country, elect officers to suit themselves, &c., &c. One of the black men, a preacher, the property of Mr. Wm. L. King of Williamson, passed by the title of General. But he had a rival in the person of another fellow in Rutherford, who has been electing another for Sheriff of the county, when the whites should have been exterminated.—*Nashville Banner.*

MOOR MORGAN. A mob consisting of nearly all the colored people of Guyanab, lately wrecked their vengeance on an abolitionist, by tarring and feathering him, riding him on a rail, and otherwise shamefully maltreating him. Such a course of conduct on the part of our southern brethren, is not only inhuman and unprincipled, but highly impolitic. It excites the very spirit of indignance which they undertake to punish.—*Mer. Jour.*

Rev. John B. Mahan, having found bail for his appearance to defend the new suit brought against him in Kentucky, has been permitted to return to his family.

COMMUNICATIONS.

REPLY OF H. B. STANTON TO THE LETTER OF NATHAN BROOKS.

CAMBRIDGEPORT, DEC. 25, 1838.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.—I have read the extraordinary letter of Nathan Brooks, in the last number of the Liberator. After reading your comments upon it, I have resolved not to reply to its allegations. You were an eye and ear witness of all that transpired at the Anti-Slavery Convention in Concord, and know whereof you affirm. Nathan Brooks was not present, and hence, his sources of information are more questionable than yours. On the ground of impartiality, the odds are equally against him. You testify for another. He testifies in his own cause. Your statement fully contradicts his. Here I might rest, and safely demand a verdict. But some of my friends are desirous that I should reply to his letter. The fear, on their part, that the cause with which I am in some slight degree identified may be injured by my silence, induces me to yield to their solicitations; seriously questioning, however, whether I might not spend my time on more important matters. But, to the letter.

The point at issue between Mr. Brooks and myself is not what took place at Concord, but what transpired at Concord. Does he truly state what I there said?

1. He affirms, that Mr. Stanton 'labored with much ingenuity and sophistry, to persuade the members of that Convention [at Concord] to believe, that the closing of the doors [at Concord] against him, [Mr. Stanton], was in consequence of a consultation between some gentleman of Concord and myself [Mr. Brooks].'

2. This is the hinge on which all his allegations against me turn. It is the entire foundation on which he bases the following charges—viz. that I have been guilty of aggravated baseness and injustice; that I was influenced by sinister motives in my statement at Concord; that I am recreant to truth; that I am regardless of the rights and reputation of my neighbor; that I am destitute of every principle of honesty; and, consequently, no friend to the true interest of the slave.

These charges are weighty, and require a strong basis to sustain them. If it crumbles, the formidable superstructure tumbles to the ground.

Let us examine the stability of its foundation; for every thing depends upon it. To demonstrate its rottenness, I adduce the following documents.

(1) A declaration, by members of the Convention at Concord, who were present and heard my statement in regard to the Townsend affair:

TO THE PUBLIC.

The undersigned have seen a letter in the Liberator, addressed to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, by Hon. Nathan Brooks, concerning a statement made by Henry B. Stanton, at the recent Anti-Slavery Convention at Concord, in which letter is the following paragraph—

Concerning this statement, Mr. Brooks says, 'Mr. Stanton labored with much ingenuity and sophistry to persuade the members of that Convention to believe, that the closing of the doors against him was in consequence of a consultation between some gentleman of Concord and myself.'

We were members of the Convention at Concord; and, according to our best recollection of the statement of Mr. Stanton, the above is a misrepresentation of what he said on that occasion.

While a regard for truth impels us to make this declaration, we wish not to be understood as charging Mr. Brooks with intentional misrepresentation. On this point, we neither affirm nor deny any thing.

Francis Jackson, Boston. G. W. Stacy, Cambridge. Wendell Phillips, " Zeb. Spaulding, Jr. " Wm. Lloyd Garrison, " Al. Heald, " A. A. Phelps, Cambridgeport. Joseph W. Cross, Boston. Dexter Fairbank, " Eben. Pease, " J. N. Burdett, " Moses Hayward, Bedford. Edward Brown, Jr. " Wm. Gregg, " A. J. Stone, " Amos Hartwell, " Joseph W. Alden, " Orl. Farnsworth, Waltham. Wm. Fensell, " Eben. Pease, " Amos Farnsworth, Groton. Charles Knowlton, " Benjamin Hall, " Saml. Puffer, Jr. Sudbury. Geo. W. Bancroft, " Martin Brown, " Thos. J. Nutting, " Ephraim Brown, Lincoln. Harris Cowdrey, Acton. Parker M. Brown, " Simon Heywood, " H. Moulton, Marlboro. John Fletcher, " Samuel D. Gray, Pepperell. Isaac T. Flagg, " John C. Pond, Danvers. John Edwards, " David Chapman, " Charles Stone, Framingham. J. C. Colbridge, Jr. Watertown. Ansel Davis, " Josiah P. Dudley, Concord. Timothy Hartwell, " Joshua Smith, Townsend. Silas Hesmer, " B. Spaulding, Chelmsford. Simon Hingood, " H. Moulton, Marlboro. John White, " Jesse Crosby, Milford. James B. Nichols, Woburn. Danl P. Hatch, Woburn. Daniel Wise, Quincy.

Before I offer a brief comment on this document, it may be well to state, that it has been presented to every person who was a member of the Convention, (so far as we could ascertain their names,) with the exception of one from Cambridge, and those from Concord, and two or three gentlemen, who, when called upon, were absent on journeys, and not seen except back—two of them out of the state.

The reason why I am unable to declare, positively, that every member, with the above exceptions, has been called upon, is, that the roll of the Convention was not printed with the proceedings, and, supposing it of no consequence, was partly destroyed. But, from the sources of information in my possession, it is quite certain that not more than three or four members have been omitted, if indeed any. If the Cambridge and Concord gentlemen, (four or five in number, I believe,) or any body else, will inquire of me publicly or privately, why they were not waited upon, the reasons shall be forthcoming.

The gentlemen who have signed this document, are of both political parties, and none of them entertain any personal hostility to Mr. Brooks. They signed it with the greatest alacrity, the majority of them avowing a willingness to put their names to a much stronger declaration.

What is the amount of their certificate? They charge Nathan Brooks with 'misrepresentation,' alias, a false representation of what I said at Concord. What a keen edge has this disclaimer of theirs, as to the intention of this misrepresentation!—On this point, neither affirm nor deny any thing.

Let it be borne in mind, that Mr. Brooks's version of my statement at Concord, is the premise from which he deduces all the sweeping inferences derogatory to my character. If this fails him, woe to his deductions. His version is the *terra firma* on which he erects his edifice. The above document crumbles the basis of his superstructure to atoms, and the entire fabric is precipitated upon the head of the architect. There let it lie!

'A misrepresentation'—i. e. in the opinion of fifty-seven as reputable men as there are in this Commonwealth, Nathan Brooks misrepresents, distorts, falsifies my 'statements.' This done, from such materials, he twists the halter on which to hang the 'reputation of his neighbor.'

(2) In further proof of the untenableness of Mr. Brooks's position, I adduce the following documents. They tell their own story.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The undersigned, a citizen of Townsend, has seen in the Liberator, a letter addressed to Wm. L. Garrison by Hon. Nathan Brooks, in regard to a statement made by Henry B. Stanton, at the Anti-Slavery Convention at Concord, on the 11th inst., concerning the closing of a meeting-house in this town against a lecture on slavery by him.

I was present, and heard all the conversation between Mr. Stanton and a gentleman of this town, in regard to the shutting of the meeting-house aforesaid, and took part in that conversation.

I was also present at the Convention at Concord, and heard the entire statement Mr. Stanton made there, in regard to what took place in Townsend, and, according to my best recollection, this statement was substantially correct. This was my conviction at the time, and is my conviction now.

Only four other adult persons, besides Mr. Stanton and myself, were present at the above-mentioned Convention at Concord, and one of whom was present at the Concord Convention.

The 'four other adult persons' above alluded to, were Rev. O. Tracy, and his lady, Mr. Abner Brooks, and Mr. Levi Warren, 'the Townsend gentlemen,' so often spoken of by Mr. Tracy and lady, and the latter gentleman, were not at Concord. Mr. Abner Brooks was. In regard to these persons, I annex the following letter. I omit some paragraphs of a private and irrelevant character. Much of the letter, it will

be seen, has no bearing upon what took place at Concord, but relates to the Townsend matter. I publish it, however, that we may have the whole thing before us, and, also, that we may be prepared to appreciate that other 'paper' which Mr. A. Brooks says he signed? Those parts of the letter, which do not relate to the question at issue between Mr. Nathan Brooks and myself, I have inclosed in brackets. []

GEOV. DEC. 25, 1838.

Bro. Stanton,—We have been to Townsend, and were pretty successful in our business. We first called upon Rev. O. Tracy, and had some conversation with him and his lady about your conversation at Townsend; and were assured by them, that your representation of the matter at Concord, as told them by Deacon Smith and ourselves, was substantially correct. We saw Deacon Smith there, and requested him to sign the documents the two above headed 'To the public' which he did without the slightest hesitancy.

Our next business in order, was to call on Mr. Abner Brooks, whom we found at his shop. We conversed with him more than half an hour, and pretty fully discussed the merits of the case, but were unable to get his signature to either of the documents. We asked Mr. B. why he could not sign the papers? He answered, that Mr. Stanton had stated that the meeting-house had been closed by a warm and influential paragon of Mr. Brooks; which statement he considered as not strictly true, as he himself had had an influence in causing the house to be closed, as well as the gentleman referred to. He also admitted, in the course of the conversation, that the reason why the house was not granted for the lecture, was, that Mr. Brooks's political interests would be injured by the proposed lecture. You may get some of his ideas from the following conversation. Questioned by Mr. Bancroft, 'You object to Mr. Stanton's language, on the ground, that it was not wholly through the influence of the gentleman referred to, that the meeting-house was closed, do you?' 'Yes.' 'Is it not your opinion, that if Mr. Warren had been in favor of giving Mr. Brooks the meeting-house, he would have had it?' 'Yes.'

On another point. Questioned by Mr. Bancroft, 'DID YOU NOT GO TO THE CONCORD CONVENTION, WITH THE INTENTION OF CONTRADICTING ANY WRONG STATEMENT THAT MR. STANTON MIGHT THERE MAKE?' 'I DID.' 'DID YOU HAVE OCCASION TO MAKE ANY SUCH CONTRADICTION THERE?' 'I DID NOT.' 'WELL, THEN, WERE NOT MR. STANTON'S STATEMENTS THERE SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT?' 'THIS I DO NOT DENY.'

After a long conversation, he said he had a reason why he could not sign the papers; and, upon being pressed further, gave as a reason, 'that he had signed another paper, which would probably be made public, and his name would not look well upon the two.' You may guess where the other came from!

Yours, 'in labor and sacrifice for the slave.'

GEORGE W. BANCROFT, LUTHER BOUTELLE.

I dismiss all that part of the above letter, which more particularly relates to the closing of the house in Townsend, with the remark, that when that question is the point at issue, I shall be happy to meet it. I have always asserted, that there were one or more subordinates in that speech-suppressing affair. Mr. Abner Brooks was the one of these—perhaps the only one. But the Townsend gentleman, as he well knows, was the chief in the onset on free discussion. In fact, Mr. A. Brooks admits that the opening of the house was in his hands.

I ask, then, does not the certificate of Deacon Smith, and the pregnant admissions of Mr. Abner Brooks, sweep away the last vestige of Mr. Nathan Brooks's premises? Yes, verily! and close in their wake follow his deductions.

The whole case, in a nutshell, is this. My statement at Concord was 'substantially correct.' Mr. Brooks's version of that statement is 'a misrepresentation.'

Let it be distinctly understood, that, in view of these facts, I brand Nathan Brooks neither as a slanderer, a calumniator, nor a liar; but, I do say, that, if he means to declare, on his own responsibility, that, in the Concord Convention, I stated it to be a fact, that the closing of the doors in Townsend against me was in consequence of a consultation between some gentleman of that town and himself; or that I labored with much ingenuity and sophistry to persuade the members of that Convention to believe it to be a fact; then, I am, with much pain, I confess, constrained to believe, that 'Nathan Brooks' is recreant to truth, and regardless of the rights and reputation of his neighbor.

Thus much as to the question of veracity. I hasten to other points.

It may be asked, why I made any statement to the Concord Convention, in regard to the Townsend affair.

Previous to my making it, considerable had been said, very justly, in derogation of the sound abolitionism of Mr. Parmenter. I was also satisfied, that one or two gentlemen present would try to make it appear that Mr. Brooks was a genuine abolitionist. Wishing to hold the scales impartially between the rival candidates, and to throw all the light in my power on their asserted claims to the support of abolitionists, I thought it a duty I owed to the Convention, to state the facts relating to the closing of the meeting-house in Townsend, mainly by a warm and influential paragon of Mr. Brooks, on the ground that to agitate the subject of slavery now, would injure the political prospects of Mr. B. You very justly say, that I 'did so—neither extenuating nor setting down slight in malice.' It was also true that the genuine abolitionism of Mr. Brooks had been confidently affirmed by his political friends—that we had received no letter from him, from his rival, by which to test the soundness of these affirmations; and, therefore, were bound to take the conduct of his friends, on this subject, as an exposition of their views of what constituted genuine abolitionism.

The Townsend transaction came in point of Mr. Brooks's opinions on the abolition question, and yet aided in suppressing a lecture on the fundamental principles involved in that question, on the ground that it would injure the success of his favorite candidate. Well might I say, that this was a sorry compliment to the genuineness of Mr. B's abolitionism. So much for the motives which impelled me to make the statement.

But it may be said, that, from this statement, some have drawn the inference, that the closing of the doors against me was in consequence of a consultation between Mr. Brooks and the Townsend gentleman.

I stated a fact, a whole fact, and nothing but a fact. Facts are the world's property, and he is a thief and a robber who hides them. In stating this fact, I was but rendering to every man his due. And from it, every man is at liberty to draw such inferences as please him. He being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. It is no part of my business to draw inferences for others. If I should, they would not be their inferences. They have an 'unalienable right' to draw their own—a right which I feel no disposition to infringe. In the case in question I drew my inference, viz. that it was a sorry compliment to the genuineness of Mr. Brooks's abolitionism. This was my only inference, stated very briefly to the Convention, almost in the very words of the above. At the close of my statement, which occupied about five minutes, I said to the Convention, 'from these facts, you must draw your own inferences.' In this, I merely reminded them of their right—a right which every member will freely exercise, regardless of menaces from any quarter.

If it be inquired, why, in my account of the Townsend affair, I stated that the gentleman who was mainly instrumental in closing the doors against an address on slavery, had recently had an interview with Mr. Brooks, I answer, because he so stated it. It was, therefore, one of the facts in the case—the statement would not have been perfect without it; and, in relating the conversation, I had no more right to omit this fact, than any other. And, if Mr. Brooks, or any of his friends, are displeased with it, their indignation should be expended on it, and not on me. Or, if any body draws from it the inference, that Mr. B. was implicated in this gagging transaction, upon them, not me, rests the responsibility.

But, although I have never made such a deduction, yet, if I may venture an opinion on so profound a subject, I do not think that if 'an ardent young man' or a phlegmatic old man had, in the absence of

[illegible]

